

The University of Chicago

THE MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC
RELATIONS IN MUNICIPAL
ADMINISTRATION

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
JUNE, 1941

By
MAURE LEONARD GOLDSCHMIDT

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CHAPTER I

THE EMERGENCE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS MANAGEMENT

The public relations of administrative personnel include all the contacts between the administrative staff and the individuals and groups outside the administrative organization that make up the public. These relations may be divided into three main categories: administrative relations, non-administrative relations in administrative situations, and non-administrative relations in non-administrative situations.¹ Administrative relations refer to the contacts which are directly involved in the performance of an administrative action, i.e., an action involving the execution of the law, such as giving a receipt to a customer who has paid a water bill. Non-administrative relations in an administrative situation include those aspects of the official contact incidental to the performance of the administrative action, such as the manner in which the citizen is treated when the water bill is being paid and the receipt given. Strictly speaking, the administrative action includes only those movements which are constitutively involved in carrying out the law, such as taking the money, writing out the receipt, and handing it to the customer. The rest of the relationship, although occurring in an administrative situation, is non-administrative. Non-administrative relations in a non-administrative situation refer to the unofficial contacts between administrative personnel and the public outside the line of duty

¹Strictly speaking, the phrase "non-administrative relations in a non-administrative situation" is pleonastic. However, we shall use it in order to make clear the difference between the two types of non-administrative relations.

and usually outside working hours, as, for example, in convivial relationships.

Administrative relations may involve the use of physical coercion, as in forcible arrest; command, as in an order to abate a nuisance; or persuasion, as in a campaign for the prevention of disease; or they may involve no control at all but simply the performance of a service, such as the delivery of a letter. Administrative relations may be formal (i.e., conforming to specified rules) as in the case of a written demand for payment of a water bill, or informal (i.e., not conforming to specified rules) as in the case of a public health nurse who is trying to persuade a citizen to attend a clinic. Non-administrative relations in administrative and in non-administrative situations are necessarily informal, and may or may not be marked by courtesy and friendliness.

Recently, administrators have undertaken on an enlarged scale to manage the responses of the public to administration by means other than commands or coercion. By the management of public relations, we mean the intentional influencing of public responses toward administrators and administrative actions by means of acts and symbols. This involves a knowledge of the existing expectations and demands of the public as the objects toward which administrative and non-administrative actions and symbols are directed. Thus, public relations management includes (a) the discovery of public attitudes, and (b) the influencing of public attitudes and responses by means of administrative and non-administrative actions and assertions in the light of knowledge of prevailing attitudes.

To understand the conditions which have given rise to public relations management, we must examine some of the characteristic general attitudes prevalent in the urban areas which provide

the setting in which administrative activity occurs. We must also analyze the changes which have taken place in the organization, functions, and personnel of municipal administration. The interaction of these two sets of factors has produced certain specific attitudes on the part of the urban public toward administration and on the part of administrative personnel toward the urban public. Public relations management has emerged as an effort to modify certain of these attitudes.

The Urban Setting

The importance of the urban setting lies in the fact that it conditions the ability of the city dweller to acquire knowledge of his environment, and influences his preferences and identifications.¹ Furthermore, it creates social difficulties which can be solved only by administrative action.

The acquisition of knowledge about administration and other aspects of the environment is hindered by the physical size of the city, its complex structure, and the number and heterogeneity of its population. In the large city spatial distance separates citizens from the city hall, and there is little personal contact between them and administration. It is difficult for citizens to secure information or to register their complaints and demands. Administrative activities are performed at such a distance that it is difficult for ordinary men to perceive the intentions of administrators and the consequences of administrative action.

The complex structure of urban society produces a similar

¹By identification we mean the process whereby "one person becomes emotionally bound to the symbol of another or to the symbol of the collectivity." (Harold D. Lasswell, World Politics and Personal Insecurity [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935], p. 35.) This involves adopting a favorable attitude toward the symbol although one can have a conscious preference for it without being emotionally bound to it.

result. Urban activity is highly specialized and involves technical skills of a high order. It is organized on a large scale and in such a way that only a very few individuals can survey the whole of the enterprise in which they participate. There are complex inter-relationships of institutions within the city and within larger areas, such as the metropolitan area, the region, and the nation as a whole. All this contributes to the confusion of the unspecialized or divergently specialized citizen, who is unable to understand the extremely intricate system in which he cannot perceive the consequences of his own activities or those of others who are part of the system.

The presence of large numbers of people in the city leads to the replacement of direct oral communication by organized methods of communication, such as the press and the radio, which are controlled chiefly by private groups and individuals who are promoting their own aims. Thus, the organized media are not always available for the dissemination of information about administration.

The heterogeneous population, which is a consequence both of the exogenous character of urban population growth and of the division of labor, is another obstacle to the acquisition of knowledge by the public. The population of the larger cities is composed of individuals and groups differing in national and rural-urban origin, race, religion, occupational skill, and economic status. There is likely to be much ignorance in a community which contains a large number of strangers, for they tend to distrust the authenticity of information whose source is unknown to them. Furthermore, their unfamiliarity with the local environment will probably extend to ignorance of local administration.¹

¹Certain voluntary agencies have been organized to supply

Another consequence of the diversity of preferences which characterizes the heterogeneous populations of the large urban areas is that the media of communication which reach the largest number of people, such as the newspaper and the radio, must concentrate on the lowest common denominator of public interest in order to hold their audiences. This denominator usually includes a large measure of sensationalism.

Virtue [as Mr. Justice Frankfurter has said] is proverbially not news, and appreciation of achievement in government, except when attained on the colossal scale of a Panama Canal or in the dramatized conflict of foreign relations, is dependent on dull technical details. The public is therefore surprisingly ignorant of the extent to which its servants contribute to the public good.¹

The processes of urbanization may weaken or strengthen the existing preferences of city dwellers, or create new ones. The conditions of city life are conducive to the development of ambiguity and amorphousness of preferences. The city dweller's ignorance of so many aspects of the social situation leads to a feeling of helplessness and bewilderment which may finally result in apathy and indifference. Specialization, which is such a marked characteristic of life in the larger cities, results in the focusing of attention on a career and on private concerns with a consequent loss of interest in public affairs. The exogenous character of urban population growth makes it likely that the public will contain numerous individuals with negative attitudes toward government. Citizens of rural origin, e.g., may be unaccustomed to look-

the citizen with information about administration, such as the privately operated Bureaus of Municipal Research, and various civic associations and improvement clubs. Voluntary social service organizations, such as those associated in Councils of Social Agencies, also perform this function to some extent. Such groups may facilitate or hinder administrative efforts to disseminate information.

¹Felix Frankfurter, The Public and Its Government (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), pp. 133-34.

ing to administration for assistance in working out their problems, and may view its activities with suspicion.

The processes of urbanization do not always result in depolitization; on the contrary, they may sharpen political preferences. Thus, one result of the weakening of neighborly and familial ties, which is so characteristic of the urban environment, is that many of the welfare functions formerly performed by the neighborhood and the family must now be performed by formally organized institutions of social service. Consequently, city dwellers expect to receive these services from both privately and publicly organized welfare agencies.

As a result of the steady deprivation of its original functions which the family has undergone, as well as of the extensive breakup in the cities of the neighborhood and local community, the burden of social risk has tended to be shifted more and more, especially in the past few years, from the family and local community to the State. While an exact parallel cannot be drawn, there is a close connection between urbanization and the need for and emergence of both public and private social welfare work.

Where specialization and rapidity of technological change with resulting unemployment lead to an intensification of the struggle for existence, they may focus attention upon government. Competition between the numerous occupational groups in the city is severe and relatively unrestrained by sentimental considerations. Business men struggle with each other and band together against their common enemies; laboring and professional groups do likewise. These groups do not hesitate to enlist the services of government if it furthers their interests, nor do they refrain from attacking governmental intervention if they are disadvantaged thereby.

The economic depression, which was felt more severely in

¹Our Cities, Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 13.

the urban centers than in the rural areas, accentuated the conflicts between various groups and classes, and led them to seek governmental assistance. Deprivation resulted in increased demands for public social services at a time when the taxpayers were less able to pay for them.

In addition to the conflicts between economic interest groups, there are numerous conflicts between voluntary associations which have banded together to pursue a wide variety of non-pecuniary objectives. Many of these groups seek to instrument their objectives through the medium of governmental agencies--often the only way in which their objectives can be attained. Thus, administration inevitably becomes a party to their activities or the object of their displeasure.

Until recently, urbanization has interfered with the development of identification with administration. Where it has proceeded rapidly, there has been a breakdown of primary group life.¹

¹"Primary and Secondary Groups. A village is a social structure nearly all of whose members are known to one another, and each individual has a direct, face-to-face relation with every other individual. This is an example of a primary group; and in its more extreme form it comprises a relatively small number of individuals, living or at least functioning in close proximity to each other, and engaged in overlapping activities. The members of one workshop form a primary industrial group. At the other extreme can be found groups whose members have never even seen each other. This is the situation of some international learned societies. Such a group is secondary, and its typical characteristics are a wide geographical dispersion, any number of members, large or small, with little or no physical contact. Most groups have a structure intermediate between these two extremes and their characteristics are importantly affected by their position along this sliding scale.

"A primary group may have no explicit common purpose of any kind--explicit, that is, to the members themselves. I imagine that if a villager were asked why he lived in a given community, he would explain that his father had lived there before him, or that he had found a job of some sort; he certainly would not consider the raison d'être of the village as a whole. Of course most industrial primary groups are definitely conscious of a logical objective, though even here a surprisingly large number of exceptions are encountered. On the other hand, it is very rare for an averagely active member of a secondary group not to have some idea of its nominal purpose. A member of a learned society, or of any

When individuals are continually moving in and out of the city and changing their residence within it, they do not develop lasting place relationships; the neighborhood means little to them.¹ Not only mobility but specialization contributes to the breakdown of primary group relationships. Life activities become segmentalized, and secondary relationships are substituted for primary ones. The family loses its importance, and many of its functions are taken over by specialized agencies. The lack of stable neighborhood relationships makes it more difficult for the individual to orient himself in the environment. A frequent consequence is identification with the self, with little concern for anything outside the narrow range of such an identification, or with wider groups, such as the nation.

Another obstacle to the development of identification with

other highly dispersed organization, would be unable to participate except at a relatively explicit level.

"Not only is a secondary group almost necessarily in possession of an explicit purpose, but, in so far as it truly remains secondary, such a group is only related in its avowed capacity. The members, so long as they remain separated, do not directly affect each other's activities except as indicated by their terms of reference. As a contrast, the members of a primary group, whether in possession of an explicit purpose or not, inevitably affect each other's lives in a number of ways. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that practically every activity of any member of a primary group is somewhat conditioned by the fact of that membership." (T.N. Whitehead, Leadership in a Free Society [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936], pp. 4-5.)

¹"It appears that in Cleveland from one-fourth to one-third of all families move each year and that about two-thirds of those who move about within the city cross a census tract boundary. Even though, on the average, every family in the Cleveland Metropolitan District moves once in three or four years, there are many families that have lived in their present residence for many years. . . . In the very nature of the case a community growing rapidly by migration from outside will have a very high proportion of families that have lived less than twenty years in the same house. But even so no one can doubt that the problems of developing community solidarity or civic spirit are appravated when 57 per cent of all families have lived in their present abodes for less than five years." (Warren S. Thompson, Research Memorandum on Internal Migration in the Depression, Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 30 [New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937], pp. 35-6.)

administration is the lack of knowledge concerning it and the resulting apathy and indifference to it.¹ The spatial barrier between administration and the public increases the difficulty of identification; administration appears so distant and impersonal that place associations are hard to develop. On the other hand, the growing demand for administrative services has resulted in increased identification with administration on the part of those who are making the demands and using the services.

Urbanization, then, produces conditions which are unfavorable to the acquisition of knowledge about administration by the public. It also influences the public's identification with and

¹The New Yorker points out the complex administrative regulations which beset the unsuspecting citizen who attempts to celebrate Christmas in the old-fashioned manner:

"As to Santa Claus and Christmas cheer in general, we encountered a man who owns a house with a small front yard on the upper East Side. He put up a small Christmas tree in the small yard and a large policeman came around and told him to take it down until he got a permit for it. He duly got the permit, and at the same time, in a how-far-is-this-regimentation-going spirit, inquired about other regulations pertaining to the observance of Christmas in the old-fashioned manner, having a suspicion that all the merriment had been legislated or regulated out. He found that on the whole Christmas fun is still possible but you must get permission from the proper authorities. He was told, he reported to us, that carol-singing is permissible without a permit of any kind, coming, in the police viewpoint, under the right of free assemblage. Carollers must not solicit alms, however, or exhibit evidence of having dipped too freely into wassail, and they mustn't sing within five hundred feet of a hospital, a church while the service is going on, or a court in session. Christmas trees anywhere outdoors in New York City are lumped in with street fairs by the police; you have to ask them for a permit. A permit from the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity is necessary if you want to put electric lights on the tree, and if you're going to light a tree, you have to use electricity, because all other forms of illumination are forbidden. A permit from the Parks Department is required for putting up a tree in a public park or square. People planning to venture outdoors in Santa Claus costumes are reminded of Section 887, Subdivision 7, of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which forbids wearing any sort of mask or false face in public, except by guests invited to a masquerade. You're perfectly safe wearing a false face to a masquerade, provided that your host has obtained from the police a license to stage such an affair. Santa Claus costumes without beards are O.K. and the cops may even wink at a beard which doesn't conceal much of your face. Merry Christmas, and be sure to keep in touch with your mouthpiece." (The New Yorker, December 21, 1940, p. 13.)

preference for administration. The highly segmental character of the city dweller's activities plus his ignorance tend to produce indifference and apathy toward public administration. His preferences are frequently amorphous; he may feel vaguely dissatisfied or uneasy, but he does not quite know what to do about it. If he can be reached by some group which desires to discredit administration, he may even develop hostile attitudes toward the latter. On the other hand, by creating problems which can only be solved by administrative action, urbanization encourages public demands upon administration which have led to the expansion of its activities.

Changes in Municipal Administration

The most significant developments in municipal-administration which bear upon our analysis are the expansion in the number of its functions, the change in the character of these functions, and the associated increase in professional personnel and in the complexity of administrative organization.

There has been a steady increase in the supply of administrative services which was accentuated by the great depression.¹

¹"American urban government has constantly increased the scope of its functions. Between the years 1903 and 1930 the per capita expenditure for each major governmental activity has continually risen as shown in the following table:

"PER CAPITA LOCAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES BY FUNCTIONS
IN CITIES OF 30,000 AND OVER, 1903-30

	1903	1926	1930	Percent- age in- crease 1903-30	Rank or- der of expendi- tures	Rank order of in- crease
Education.....	\$5.06	\$8.66	\$10.05	98.6	1	2
Protection.....	4.19	4.49	5.17	23.4	2	5
Health.....	1.51	2.25	2.55	68.9	3	4
Highways.....	2.05	2.05	2.17	5.9	4	6
Welfare.....	1.08	1.32	1.86	72.2	5	3
Recreation.....	.44	.77	.95	115.9	6	1
Totals (including general and miscel- laneous functions..	16.49	22.54	26.36	59.9		"

(Urban Government, Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939], I, 10.) See also Lent D. Upson, *The Growth of a City Government* (Detroit: Bureau of Governmental Research, 1931).

This expansion has proceeded in both the regulatory and service spheres. In the older sphere of regulation, there has been an extension of activity in the field of inspection, at least up to the beginning of the depression. Housing and building codes are more widespread and require inspectors to enforce them. Many types of business are subject to inspection and licensing.¹ Sanitary inspection, although one of the earliest types, continues to be important with more types of activity being brought under control. Fire prevention has become an increasingly important part of the work of fire departments, necessitating the frequent inspection of premises for fire hazards. Preventive work has likewise come to occupy a more important part in the police program. Police departments now detail men to inspect premises with a view to minimizing the possibility of theft, and to inspect motor cars in order to reduce accidents due to faulty machines. Another type of regulatory activity which has greatly increased is the control of traffic, which probably requires more time and money than any other police activity.²

The expansion of the so-called "service functions" has been even more noteworthy. Indeed, the Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee points to the fact that "the most significant trend in government, apart from the expansion of its functions, has been the transition from regulatory to service activities."³ There is a steady increase in the number of pre-natal and well-baby clinics, in venereal disease clinics,

¹"In 1935, out of 80 different classes of retail stores in the U.S., half as to type and half as to volume were typically subject to specifically enacted police ordinances." (Urban Government, op. cit., p. 12.)

²Ibid.

³Our Cities, op. cit., p. 48.

in nursing service, and in hospital facilities in the public health field.¹ More attention is being paid to adult education, and recreational opportunities are being expanded to meet the needs of the whole population rather than those of children alone.² Music, drama, handicrafts, and dancing are being offered in addition to sports. The inability of private efforts, such as those of business, philanthropy, and the political machines, to cope with the destitution produced by the depression has forced the government into the field of welfare administration on a much larger scale than heretofore, with the result that provision of relief has become primarily a public function. Under the encouragement of the federal government, there has been a considerable increase in the number of municipally-owned electric utilities. Under similar auspices, housing is rapidly assuming an important place among local government services.

¹"Communicable disease, principally tuberculosis, consume over half the municipal health budget, but the rate of growth is somewhat greater for such basic preventative services as child health. Between 1915 and 1930, communicable disease expenditures increased 92 per cent per capita while child health services increased 173 per cent per capita. In 296 of the most populous counties of the country containing 46 per cent of the population, one-third of the total hospital facilities are provided by the governmental authorities. Dental services for school children are also being provided by the public. There are now newer excursions into municipal cancer control clinics, baths for the rehabilitation of infantile paralysis victims, and treatment centers for venereal disease." (*Ibid.*, p. 13.)

²"Our most rapidly emerging major field of activity, though it accounts for least of the total urban budget, is recreation, including the maintenance of parks and play facilities of various types. Until about 1870, well-developed parks of sizeable acreage were to be found only in such places as Boston, where the Common was derived from colonial days, in New York City, where Central Park had been acquired in 1853, and in Baltimore, where a 700-acre park had been acquired in 1860. Chicago's more extensive park system was not started until 1869. By 1907, however, parks in cities of 30,000 and over had increased to such a point that there was one acre of park for each 307 people. This growth continued and by 1930 there was one acre for each 184 city inhabitants. After the municipal park came the children's playground, and then came baseball diamonds, football fields, municipal tennis courts, swimming pools and beaches and municipal golf links." (*Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.)

The nature of administrative services has changed. Whereas most services were formerly performed for the public, they must now be carried on with its cooperation. Public works and police and fire protection were formerly provided with little assistance from the public. With the development of the social services and of preventive functions in the older departments, the cooperation of the public is now essential to effective administration.

The emphasis in public health administration is changing from prevention of disease by means of regulation and enforcement to prevention by means of persuasion and education. That this has been made inevitable by the changing nature of the public health problem is pointed out by Dr. Iago Galdston in the following:

Those who have paid close attention to the trends of public health have come to realize that we have about exhausted the possibilities of doing for people that which can be done for them, and that we are approaching, in fact, are already in an epoch in which, if further progress in health is made, the people must be taught to do things for themselves.

The great epoch in public health whose end we have recently witnessed was characterized by the elimination of many heretofore dominant diseases by the agencies of public health legislation, and the employment of vaccines, sera, immunizing and sterilizing agents. During this period great things were done unto and for the people, who themselves contributed little or nothing. What had the population at large to do with the blotting out of smallpox, or of cholera, or of bubonic plague?

But now those diseases which were subject to such mastery have already so been mastered. Today we find dominant the degenerative diseases, and those diseases which affect the emotional and psychologic aspects of human life. If we are to succeed in conquering these diseases, it will only be with the conscious cooperation of the individual in the community. We cannot hope for a vaccine to eradicate the various dementias, or for an antitoxin that will immunize an individual against unhygienic and irrational living habits.

Public health education must therefore prove an important agent in the armamentarium of the public health doctor of today and tomorrow. It is and will evermore be the task of health and education to impart basic knowledge relative to the prevention of diseases and the conservation of well-being. It will also be our task so to fashion our instruction that men will not only be informed but also persuaded.¹

In the other social services there is a similar emphasis

¹Dr. Iago Galdston, "Health Education," American Journal of Public Health, XXIII (April, 1933), 338.

on securing the cooperation of those who are being served. The cooperation of the family is solicited by the visiting teacher in working out the child's behavior difficulties. An important task of the social worker is to maintain the morale of his client; this obviously cannot be accomplished without the latter's cooperation. Recreation workers must persuade citizens to participate actively in some form of recreation rather than to assume the passive role of the spectator. The emphasis on fire prevention requires the active assistance of the public. Occupants of homes and of business and industrial premises must be educated to detect fire hazards and to avoid creating them.¹

The police are placing increased emphasis on a crime prevention program which enlists the cooperation of parents and of voluntary organizations in controlling the activities of children in socially desirable directions. They are also faced with a traffic problem which cannot be solved by ordinary enforcement methods alone. People resent being treated as criminals for traffic violations that are due more often to ignorance than to criminal intent. The only solution is the education of motorists and

¹"With the possible exception of lightning striking in forest lands, all fires are preventable to the extent that all fire hazards may be foreseen and the conditions responsible for fires corrected. In other words, every fire is due to the failure to observe well-known good practice standards. For example, taking the leading causes of fires, chimneys that are properly constructed, kept clean and in good repair do not cause fires. A large number of fires due to sparks on roofs can be readily remedied by using the many non-combustible forms of roofing that are available. Heating equipment properly installed and operated will not cause fires. The same is true of all fire causes. This contention has been proved many times in communities where the citizens and the fire department make a determined effort to eliminate causes of fires. For example, in communities where all dwellings are inspected by the fire department, the total number of dwelling fires has been cut in half showing that such fires are readily preventable." (Warren Y. Kimball, Engineer, National Fire Protection Association, in letter to the author, February 17, 1941.) Also see statistics on estimated distribution of United States fire losses by causes in The Quarterly Magazine of the National Fire Protection Association, October, 1940, p. 156.

pedestrians.

Even in such fields as public utilities and public works, there is a growing realization that public cooperation can help to improve the service. Consumers will get better utility service if they understand the use of equipment; if, for example, they know what to do when a fuse blows, they will prevent more serious breaks in service. It has been estimated that half of the amount of street litter is due to carelessness and could be avoided through public education.¹

One of the most significant developments in nearly all fields of public administration is the growth of discretionary authority. Administrative discretion has increased because of the need for flexibility in adjusting the intent of the law to situations which could not be anticipated at the time the law was enacted.² Discretion, furthermore, is frequently vested in administrative authorities when it is impossible for the legislature to lay down a definite rule because of its ignorance of the technical problems involved. Thus, determination of facts in such matters as the existence of fire hazards is left to administrative authorities who are empowered to issue orders based on their findings. Discretion is also delegated to administrative authorities when, because of the controversial character of the problem, the legislature finds it impossible to lay down a definite rule. There is much difference of opinion, for example, about moral standards, so that their application to plays, movies, and literature is often left to administrative discretion. Similarly, the determination of what constitutes a breach of the peace is frequently left

¹Committee on Street Cleaning, Street Cleaning Practice
(Chicago: American Public Works Association, 1938), p. 11.

²This is why, for example, authority to alter traffic regulations is vested in the police department.

to the police, who have to determine whether an assemblage or a parade should be prohibited because of the danger to public order.

The expansion of governmental activities, their increasingly technical character, and the demand for efficiency in administration have all contributed to the development of a professionalized administrative organization. Such an organization is characterized by its adherence to rules which govern the relations between superior and inferior officials. It involves a specific allocation of tasks to each official, and is set up on a hierarchical basis with orders going from top to bottom, and obedience from bottom to top. In addition, it requires the selection of officials according to ability, with the expectation that they will devote full time to their work and that their tenure will be permanent. Its professional character finds expression in a code of ethics.¹ Not all municipal administrations have been completely professionalized, but the trend is in that direction.

The developments in municipal administration which have been sketched in this section may be regarded as an organized effort to eliminate or to forestall certain social situations which have arisen in the urban environment, and to induce others which are viewed as desirable. These changes have inevitably had repercussions upon the attitudes of those who are brought into contact with administrators and upon the attitudes of the administrators themselves.

¹See Max Weber, "Burokratie," *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1925), pp. 650-78; Carl Friedrich and Taylor Cole, *Responsible Bureaucracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), pp. 8-28; and Leonard D. White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, Revised edition (New York: Macmillan Company, 1939), pp. 43-5.

Consequences of Administrative Expansion for
Public and Administrative Attitudes

We have now analyzed certain aspects of the urban environment which affect the practice of public administration. We have shown that urbanization leads to an increase of administrative activities, and, at the same time, makes it difficult for the public to acquire knowledge of these activities and to develop favorable attitudes toward them. We have also pointed out that with the increased quantity of public relations, there has been a corresponding increase in the number of situations in which public relations management might be introduced. This expansion and changed character of administrative activity have affected both the attitudes of the public toward administration, and of administrative personnel toward the public and toward itself. We shall therefore be concerned in this section with analyzing the reactions of the partially atomized, expediency-oriented public to the increasing governmentalization of life, and of the administrative personnel to the increasing professionalization and specialization of the public service.

The expansion of the activities of administration has stimulated the hostility of certain interest groups. Taxpayers who have had to foot the bill during a period when they have been less able to pay have been particularly vociferous in attacking administration. They have demanded drastic curtailment of staffs and services, and have accused public officials of laziness, inefficiency, and waste. They have pictured civil servants as unproductive drones growing fat at the expense of the poor taxpayers, and have made efforts to secure the enactment of tax-limitation measures which would have seriously restricted public revenues. Tax strikes have been threatened and sometimes carried out. The de-

pression heightened the insecurity level of the business group, which not only took serious losses, but was frightened by strikes and made uneasy by the fact that it was held responsible for the difficulties. In these circumstances, the business group was not averse to projecting its feeling of guilt for the depression upon government. Machine politicians, who saw their influence being undermined by governmental assumption of the chief responsibility for the provision of social service, have not been unwilling to join in such attacks.

The expansion of administrative activity has brought administration into direct conflict with private interests in the fields of public utilities and public health, and has exposed it to their attacks. The privately owned utilities have tried to discredit public ownership by showing the inefficiency of public administration, and by raising the cry that all private enterprise is endangered. The medical profession, as represented by the American Medical Association, has opposed efforts to extend the scope of public health services, and has used the same kind of propaganda as the utilities, claiming that public health administration is less efficient and that the preserves of the private practitioner will be encroached upon. Such charges are not new, but they are being disseminated much more vigorously than heretofore.¹

¹The conflict between public health administration and the medical profession goes back to an earlier period, as is evident from the following quotation from The Life of Herman Biggs, one of the pioneers of public health administration in the city of New York:

"The earlier measures taken from 1893 on had caused some grumblings of opposition; but with this ordinance, definitely declaring pulmonary tuberculosis to be an infectious and communicable disease, and requiring all physicians to report it, the storm broke in earnest. The Medical Record, under the editorship of Dr. George F. Shrady, took a leading part in opposing the action of the Board of Health, beginning with an editorial on January 23, which contained the following remarkable passages, passages which strongly suggest some of the strictures upon so-called 'state medicine' to be found in the medical journals of the present day:

Where administration has intervened in controversial fields, it has been subjected to attacks by interested parties. Administration finds itself in a difficult position when it has to enforce stringent laws, for example, those against drinking and gambling. In such situations, it is open to criticism no matter what it does. The difficulty lies in the divergence of law from the preferences of important elements in the community. So long as this divergence persists we shall continue to have sporadic efforts to enforce morals legislation which must, however, be regarded primarily as efforts to placate opinion rather than to secure obedience to the law.

A more recent instance of the difficulties in which administration finds itself when there is no agreement about basic values is to be found in the law governing labor disputes. Picketing regulations in some areas are so severe that they cripple effective picketing. Labor does not recognize such regulations as fair. If the police try to enforce them, they must often resort to force and thus incur the deep hostility of the workers.

"The profession of this city will be surprised to learn that the Health Board has finally declared that all cases of pulmonary tuberculosis, public or private, shall be reported to its sanitary bureau, on the plausible ground that the disease in question is pronouncedly dangerous to public health. With every desire to interpret the motives of the Board in the most liberal spirit, the conviction forces itself upon us that the compulsory step taken is a mistaken, untimely, irrational, and unwise one. The medical profession is not yet prepared to endorse the radical measures proposed The real obviousness of this amendment to the sanitary code is its offensively dictatorial and definitely compulsory character. It places the Board in the rather equivocal position of dictating to the profession and of creating a suspicion of an extra bid for public applause by unduly magnifying the importance of its bacteriological department. . . . The profession as a whole has watched with jealous eye the encroachments of the Board upon many of the previously well-recognized privileges of the medical attendant, and the order in question is likely in certain quarters to arouse active antagonism rather than to court that cordial support which just now is most needed by all concerned.'" (C.E.A. Winslow, The Life of Herman Biggs [Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1929], p. 144.)

If they do not enforce them, they will be severely criticized by the employers.

A similar situation exists in the field of relief. Clients frequently dislike social workers because of their apparent niggardliness, when the fault, if any, is to be found in the legislative body which appropriates funds. They are also attacked by economy-minded individuals on the ground that they encourage waste and extravagance.

So long as public opinion is split about such problems as the regulation of morals, the claims of capital and labor in industrial disputes, and standards of relief, administration will be confronted with a serious problem of public relations management, for people will manifest different degrees of willingness to obey the law and to accept it as just. The problem is aggravated by the tendency of the legislature to shift responsibility in controversial matters to the administration by giving it wide discretionary powers, thus avoiding the necessity of committing itself in the statute to a definite policy.

The changing nature of administrative functions requires greater public cooperation with administrative officials than ever before at a time when the processes of urbanism make it more difficult to secure the necessary public interest and understanding. The social service departments, in particular, need the collaboration of the beneficiaries of their services. It is among these underprivileged citizens that ignorance and apathy are most widespread; they are often unable to appreciate the value of the services which are available, because of lack of education, concentration on private concerns, or weariness. The increasing complexity of urban life, which the expansion of administrative activities accentuates, bewilders many of these individuals, and often

results in their adopting an attitude of indifference or of active resistance to the efforts of administrative personnel to enlist their cooperation.

Another source of hostility to administration, and an obstacle to public cooperation with it, is to be found in the administrative exercise of discretionary authority. Administrative rule-making is less dramatic and receives much less publicity than does legislative rule-making, with the result that there is frequently a lack of public information about administrative rules. Similarly, the quasi-judicial actions of administration, as in the case of the granting or refusal of licenses, are often unpredictable because they are not based upon any clearly understood rules. The unpredictability of administrative actions, where discretionary authority is involved, makes public cooperation with administration more difficult. It also creates much public irritation because of the apparent arbitrariness of administrative decisions, which may not have involved formal hearings and from which there may be no appeal.¹ It is in this sphere that the cries of "bureau-

¹The following letters, which appeared in the Public Letter Box of the Detroit News, illustrate the irritation which so often arises because of the exercise of discretionary authority. In this case the Detroit Police Department made a change in the traffic rules which elicited the following protests:

"To the Editor: I wish to second T.W.K.'s warning in the Letter Box and also caution all motorists to beware of apprehension on a charge of reckless driving if they attempt to make the sane and reasonable left-hand turn. At one time the short left-hand turn was condoned and even encouraged by the Police Department. It facilitates traffic in the center lane where traffic should move faster. But now the motorist is liable to arrest for making this type of turn. I drive about 50,000 miles a year and have always considered the left-hand turn selfish when it means holding up traffic. Instead of appreciating the fact that the experienced driver can make this turn with absolute safety, the Police Department is evidently in sympathy with that type of mentally-retarded person who thinks of no one but himself and expects the whole world to stand still when he puts his hand out the window. J.S.L." (Detroit News, November 14, 1937, p. 9.)

"To the Editor: I want to protest against this latest move by the Police Department to curtail the liberties of the motorists. I was given a ticket for making a short left-hand turn. I had to

cracy" and "dictatorship" arise.¹

Large scale professional organization affects the attitudes of both the public and the officials. Such organization, with its minute division of labor, creates a public demand for administrative responsibility and equality of treatment, which, in turn, lead to the establishment of detailed rules of procedure ("red tape") governing administrative action. Although these rules establish formal equality of treatment, they may involve material inequality and hardship to certain individuals. They tend to slow down administrative action because officials must be careful to observe them in detail. Although they are established to define administrative jurisdiction and thus fix administrative responsibility, they sometimes encourage efforts to avoid it. Thus, they may often lead to much public irritation.

Large scale professional organization influences the attitudes of the officials whose contacts with the public are thus af-

go to court and lost a whole day's pay, and was made to pay \$8 fine besides. My son, who earns only \$10 a week, also got a ticket for the same thing, and he had to pay \$8 fine. I have driven automobiles for 15 years now and drive about 15,000 miles a year, and this is the first time I was ticketed. I have been making that same short left turn at Woodward and the Nine Mile Road for five years. I never have seen an accident as the result of a short left-hand turn. The average driver cannot afford to pay \$8 for such a trivial offense, if it is an offense. J.H.C." (*Ibid.*)

"To the Editor: A short time ago a small sign at Cass and Canfield Avenues was changed, prohibiting left-hand turns during certain hours. Since that time from two to four officers are standing around that corner issuing tickets to careful drivers who do not know the signs have been changed. The result is that several thousand dollars are being siphoned from motorists. If the Police Department does not wish to put up conspicuous signs, the drivers should be politely informed that regulations have been changed at that corner. The officers on duty there inform you that they have been instructed by their superiors to issue as many tickets as possible. No wonder our Traffic Department is asking for more space. I have driven more than 200,000 miles in the city during the last 20 years without an accident, and I call this practice a vicious one. M.C.D." (*Detroit News*, November 21, 1937, p. 12.)

¹This is, of course, much more apparent at the level of national administration.

fect. There is an inward-looking tendency associated with well-developed professional administrative organizations which results in a loss of sympathetic contact with the public and in the development of arrogance, based on the confident assumption that experts know what is best in all circumstances. Max Weber has contrasted the old unprofessional American civil service with the professional German bureaucracy in the following:

In response to the question as to why they allow themselves to be governed in this manner by politicians whom they declared they scorned, American laborers said, "We prefer people as officials upon whom we spit, rather than as it is with you, an official caste which spits upon us."¹

A professional civil service in this country is not likely to be so insensitive, because of our democratic traditions, and because it will be recruited from broader strata of the population. Nevertheless, special efforts are needed to avoid such tendencies.

The large majority of employees is concerned only with detailed execution. They perform a few specialized operations over and over again. They lack a sense of the significance of the enterprise as a whole and have little feeling of responsibility for it, in contrast to the higher executives who make the important decisions and who are more likely to realize the importance of cultivating the public.² This lack of understanding may be combined with an absence of incentive, due to insecure tenure, low pay, and long hours, or associated with indifference, due to over-secure tenure. The result is likely to be a mechanical attitude on the part of the rank and file toward the public, indicating

¹Max Weber, Politik Als Beruf (München: Verlag von Duncker und Humblot, 1919), p. 44. See also Harold Laski, "Bureaucracy," in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), Vol. III, and Harold Laski, The Limitations of the Expert, Fabian Tract No. 235 (London: The Fabian Society, 1931).

²See Elton Mayo, The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), and T.N. Whitehead, op. cit.

little appreciation of the consequences of their actions upon public opinion. On the other hand, if conditions of employment are favorable and morale is good, employees will identify themselves with the enterprise as a whole and it will be possible to stimulate them to participate actively in cultivating good public relations.¹

The expansion of the public service has also been accompanied by the development of a career service and secure tenure, a professional outlook on the part of many officials, and the organization of public employees to protect their own interests.² All of these factors contribute to the increasing self-confidence which characterizes the public service. Freedom from political tutelage and the expectation of a permanent career also encourage the service to formulate its own interests more clearly and to defend them. One method of defense is public relations management.

Our analysis has indicated that the expansion and changed character of municipal administrative activities with the accompanying professionalization and specialization have tended to produce unfavorable attitudes toward administration on the part of certain sections of the public. This expansion has aroused the opposition of important groups which have criticized and devalued administration in the hope of restricting the scope of its activities. Where this expansion has been accompanied by professionalization and specialization and by an increase of discretionary authority, it has led to the development of public irritation and hostility. However, the changes in the character of administrative services have necessitated increased public cooperation. Thus,

¹See Chapter V.

²See Chapter VIII.

[Note: These two notes refer to the complete dissertation, which is on file in the University of Chicago Libraries.]

as public contacts have increased, far-sighted administrators have realized that they must control these contacts in order to provide the most adequate and efficient service and to defend their own interests. We may interpret the development of administrative public relations management as an effort to secure these objectives.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORY OF PUBLIC RELATIONS MANAGEMENT

Public administration has been defined as "the management of men and materials in the accomplishment of the purposes of the state."¹ Public relations management is concerned with one aspect of administration, viz., the management of the attitudes of those who are outside the enterprise, in contrast to personnel management which is concerned, among other things, with the control of attitudes of those within the enterprise.²

Public relations management differs from the types of control found in war, revolutionary, or electoral situations in that loyalty to the existing form of government, to its leaders, and to the prevailing values of the society is assumed; there are no vicious enemies against whom the public can be rallied. The task, therefore, lacks the sensational elements associated with war, revolutionary, and party propaganda.

Public relations management aims to facilitate the execution of the following administrative purposes: (1) the development of cooperation between the public and administration in order to increase administrative efficiency, (2) the stimulation of public demand for administrative services, and (3) the enhancement of the influence of administrators. In order to achieve these ends, management must influence public attitudes so as to secure

¹Leonard D. White, Introduction to the Study of Public Administration, Rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), p. 6.

²Harold D. Lasswell and Dorothy Blumenstock, World Revolutionary Propaganda (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1939), p. 9.

a greater positive preference for and identification with administration.

The pre-condition of discovery and influence of attitudes is ease of communication between administration and the public.¹ One method of facilitating communication is to organize administration so as to maximize the opportunities for the development of intimate personal relationships between officials and the public. One device is to localize administration.² Spatial proximity enables administrative officials to develop more intimate personal relationships with the public. Officials who devote their attention to a restricted local area have a better opportunity to know their clientele and to identify themselves with the area. The intimate relationships make it easier for administrators to observe local conditions, to perceive unresolved tensions, to receive demands and complaints, and to influence local attitudes.³

The machine leaders have been the outstanding exponents

¹ Among the factors which have made communication more difficult are the size and complexity of the modern metropolis, and the breakdown of primary group life which have given rise to apathy and ignorance. Another is the extension of administrative organization which has led to the development of mechanical procedures which ignore the unique situations not provided for in the rules.

² The feasibility of localization varies with the nature of the service, there being a stronger presumption in favor of localization in the social services than in the engineering services which do not depend upon the cooperation of the public to such a great extent.

³ The Consolidated Edison Company of New York has established a system of branch offices in order to improve its public relations. Commenting upon the winning of the Charles A. Coffin Foundation Award by the Company, the General Electric Review said: "A system of neighborhood branch offices was established for customer use in clarifying questions of dispute and for the conduct of business with the company. This is believed to be a valuable contribution to the problem of insuring the benefits of large organization while at the same time retaining the advantages of comparatively small-town conditions." ("Consolidated Edison Company of New York Wins Charles A. Coffin Foundation Award," General Electric Review, XL [July, 1937], 350.)

of neighborhood organization. They have realized the importance of discovering and promptly satisfying public preferences in a kindly, informal way. By maintaining close contact with their constituents, they have been able to serve them well enough to secure their gratitude and support. These leaders have acted as intermediaries between administration and the public, thus performing the public relations function which administration, itself, is now assuming. Professor J. T. Salter has aptly described the role of the ward politician in the following passages:

The public servants who constitute the official government are, for many citizens, part of the unseen environment of the great society in which they live. It is an environment that in normal times is often impersonal, remote, and meaningless to the people themselves until a wide-awake division leader appears before them in the flesh. He is an individual who speaks their own language and knows their wants. He often makes warm and personal that which had been cold and distant. He "knows everybody" at City Hall, or he knows someone who does. He bridges the gap between the unseen outer world and the inadequate citizen. About this service, Graham Wallas wrote, "It represents the most vigorous attempt which has been made to adapt the form of our political institutions to the actual facts of human nature. . . ."

The most vital factor in twenty-nine out of thirty elections in normal times is the division leader--the personal sales-agent of the party, who not only visits his sales territory, but lives in it. He meets the voter face-to-face, and this is one important reason why the organization rarely loses in certain areas. (If it is good business for an old-line life-insurance company or a wholesale grocer to rely on salesmen in the field rather than on newspaper, magazine, radio, and mail advertising, how much more necessary is it for one who offers what is often remote and vague to have a representative personally call on the voter?)¹

Another organizational device for facilitating communication is coordination of administrative activities with a view to overcoming the highly segmental character of administrative contacts with the public. The integration of administrative functions makes possible more inclusive relationships of administration with clients. A given member of the public, instead of being supplied with a number of related services by various specialists,

¹John T. Salter, Boss Rule (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935), pp. 20-22.

will have them supplied by one official with competence in several fields.¹ The official of generalized competence will have an opportunity to learn more about the citizen with whom he comes in contact, and to make suggestions which will be more acceptable to him. Meeting the citizen frequently and in a greater variety of situations, he will more easily be able to inspire confidence and to develop an accurate understanding of his problems. Some of the gains of complete integration may be secured by conferences of specialized officials serving the same individual; these conferences can be utilized to exchange information about the preferences and condition of clients and about ways of dealing with them.

The aim of localization and integration is the same, namely, the establishment of more intimate relations between administration and the public in order to facilitate communication. We may think of it as an effort to approximate primary group relationships, to recapture the advantages of the small town.

Administration should develop friendly relations with voluntary associations from which the urban dweller acquires many of his opinions. Contacts with these centers of opinion formation enables administration to secure valuable information about the preferences of important sections of the public and about conditions in the community. It can also use these contacts to convey its own preferences.

Effective channels of discovery and influence having been established, management can proceed to the discovery of public opinion. It may employ administrative actions, such as the recep-

¹Luther Gulick has pointed out that in New York City at one time, tenements were inspected separately by men interested in slums, crime, fire escapes, plumbing, fire hazards, and electric wiring; conflicting orders were not uncommon. (Luther Gulick and L. Urwick [eds.], Papers on the Science of Administration [New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1937], p. 25.)

tion and analysis of complaints and the sampling of public opinion by means of questionnaires, or it may enlist the cooperation of employees in reporting expressions of public preferences which come to their attention in the course of contacts with the public. It is possible to increase the sensitivity of employees to public preferences by means of public contact training. The following questions among others, are relevant to an analysis of public attitudes: (1) To what extent does the public have clearly formulated preferences? (2) To what extent is the public aware of the harmony or disharmony of its preferences with those of government and administration? (3) To what extent is the public aware of the harmony of its preferences with the consequences of administrative actions?¹ (4) To what extent are public preferences toward administrators either positive or negative?

The above questions represent an attempt to analyze public attitudes. However, it is important for administration to know how its relations with the public appear from the point of view of an objective observer. Such questions as the following suggest themselves: (1) To what extent do the actual conditions in which the public lives diverge from the conditions desired by administration?² (2) To what extent are administrative preferences actually harmonious with public preferences? (3) To what extent are the consequences of given administrative actions harmonious with public preferences? Answers to these questions provide, in part, the basis for effective manipulation of public responses.

Management can influence responses by means of acts and symbols once it has knowledge of existing public attitudes and

¹"The consequences of administrative actions" includes the effects of administrative procedures.

²This is frequently referred to as the discovery of "public needs."

the factors which condition them. In order to secure the desired attitudes, it must increase the public's awareness of the following propositions: (1) that its preferences and those of administration are harmonious, (2) that administration has the ability as well as the desire to implement these preferences, and (3) that its preferences are harmonious with the consequences of administrative action.¹ This three-fold distinction is one which is implicit in the public relations activities of administrators, who may not always be clearly aware of it but who nevertheless act in such a way as to exemplify it. The public, likewise, is conscious of these distinctions in varying degrees. In some cases it may have only a vague, undifferentiated attitude toward administration or toward some particular official; in other cases, it probably discriminates more clearly between administrative intentions, abilities, and the consequences of administrative actions. Our analytical standpoint is comparable to that of the economist who, in analyzing business behavior, abstracts certain means-end relationships from the total behavior complex which indicate the tendencies implicit in that behavior.

It should be pointed out that public acceptance of any one of the three preceding propositions facilitates the acceptance of the other two. In order to increase public awareness of the harmony of its preferences with those of administration, management must convince the public of its eagerness to act in such a way as to satisfy its desires. This can be accomplished by showing that it is interested in discovering the public's preferences as the necessary pre-requisite of satisfying them. It must then provide those services which the public demands or is likely to

¹Points (1) and (3) are sometimes lumped together and referred to as the "harmony of interests."

appreciate. Management should not confine its activities to the formally stated purposes of the organization, but, within the confines of law and resources, should take advantage of every official and unofficial occasion to provide services which are not required of it but which show its interest in the well-being of the public.¹ It can also provide information concerning its plans and actions which reveal the harmony of its preferences with those of the public.

In order to increase public awareness of administration's ability to implement its preferences, management can provide demonstrations of its ability by efficient work in the normal course of its activities, or by means of deliberately staged exhibitions. It can also provide information concerning the professional competence and efficiency of administrators.

Management can increase awareness of the harmony of public preferences with the consequences of administrative action by

¹Ordway Tead has emphasized the importance of transcending secondary relations and appealing to the whole man in order to enlist the interest of the individual in an organization. He says: "Commanders tend also to believe that organizations exist solely to fulfill the purpose they are specifically organized to carry out. Such a view is dangerous in its practical consequences. For it does not take adequate account of how people really do respond best even in groups where the main objective may be acceptable to them. A corporation which always acted literally on the premise that 'We're not in business for our health; we're here to make money' would obviously make many short-sighted decisions. A golf club that was run just to make it possible to play golf would lose its members. For they also want as accompanying values such things as care in the selection of members, a pleasantly appointed club house, a chance for their families to take lessons of the 'pro' and an occasional evening social function. A church which did nothing but conduct worship would be regarded by many as too austere an organization to join.

"In other words, in every organization, irrespective of its explicit aims, the whole man has to be appealed to and ministered to. It is a false over-simplification of human motives to assume that people in joining a group do so with only a fraction of themselves. In addition to satisfying that fraction, organizations must also have regard for the total sense of worthfulness and self-enhancement which individuals are always struggling to secure for themselves." (Ordway Tead, The Art of Leadership [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935], pp. 12-13.)

pointing out the benefits which accrue to the public from the use of administrative services and regulatory activities. It can also cite data which show that many members of the public recognize the value of these services by using them and by speaking favorably of them. Negatively, management can demonstrate that administrative actions do not encroach upon private interests or protect some interests by regulating others, by so delimiting the sphere of its own activities that no conflict is apparent.

Once the desired attitudes have been established, the most difficult task of public relations management has been accomplished. It now remains for management to present demand statements to the public which will stimulate the desired cooperation with administration, the use of administrative services, and the support of the administrative staff.

In addition to utilizing its own resources, management should encourage public employee associations to engage in public relations activities. These activities may include the whole range of techniques suggested above, or may include only a few of them. An employee program provides a valuable supplement to the official activities of administration, especially when the latter are hampered by public suspicion or financial limitations.

The following chapters (III-VIII) describe the various techniques to which we have alluded in this chapter. We begin with a description of methods of improving communication between administration and the public. These pre-conditions for effective discovery and influence of attitudes are dealt with in Chapters III and IV, "The Role of Administrative Organization," and "Organized Relations with Voluntary Groups." We then proceed to describe the training of public employees in more effective techniques of discovery and influence in Chapter V, "Public Contact and Informa-

tion Training." Chapter VI, "Actions of Administrative Personnel," is an analysis of administrative and non-administrative actions designed to discover and influence public attitudes. Chapter VII is a survey of publicity methods designed to influence public responses. Chapter VIII, "The Public Relations Activities of Employee Associations," stresses the value of enlisting the cooperation of employee organizations in carrying out the public relations program, and described the techniques used by such organizations. Finally, Chapter IX deals with the consequences of public relations management for public administration and for the distribution of values in the community.

